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ASPECTUAL PAIREDNESS IN RUSSIAN

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Abstract

While most verbs in Russian occur as pairs whose members are said to differ only according to the aspect which they express, a number of verbs are uniaspectually perfective or imperfective. That the verbs within each of these groups share certain semantic features leads most aspectologists to conclude that aspectual pairedness or non-pairedness is to a large degree a function of verb meaning.

Although there is general agreement on which verbs comprise the group of uniaspectual perfectives, there are vastly differing points of view concerning the size and makeup of uniaspectual imperfectives. Traditional approaches see this second group as encompassing most, if not all, of the so-called atelic verbs, while a small minority of aspectologists consider imperfective uniaspectuality to be restricted mostly to the so-called "pure" statives. Conversely, this means that there is a fundamental division between those who see aspectual pairedness as concerning only telic verbs, and those who see it as encompassing almost the whole verb lexicon.

In attempting to resolve this dilemma, the correlation between aspectual pairedness and verb type is examined, borrowing heavily from the rigorous approach to verb classification developed in Western linguistics. In particular, a new insight into aspectual (non)pairedness in Russian is to be gained by taking into consideration

the necessity of classifying not the verb alone, but the context within which the verb occurs. This, in turn, means that the aspectual pairedness of a verb must be reconsidered for each different context in which it appears. This approach, together with a definition of aspect which does not selectively exclude certain aspectual meanings, serves to cut the number of traditionally uniaspectual verbs drastically.

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INTRODUCTION.

In Russian, as in English, the verb exhibits a variety of grammatical forms, including tense, mood, voice, person, number, and aspect. It is the last category - aspect - which is the main concern of this thesis.

The term aspect has been used to describe two closely related but nevertheless different notions. The first notion is that of the **aspectual class** of a verb, or aspect as a **semantic verb type**. Vendler (1967: 97-121) proposes a fundamental division of verbs, on the basis of their cooccurrence with certain adverbials and inflectional categories, into two semantic-aspectual groups: processes and non-processes. Processes are further divided into **activities** (e.g., "run", "read", "walk", "push a cart") and **accomplishments** (e.g., "run a mile", "write a letter", "build a chair", "build a house"), while non-processes include **states** (e.g., "know", "believe", "be tall", "live") and **achievements** (e.g., "notice", "find", "arrive", "die"). Vendler's scheme, including various modifications, will be dealt with in greater detail later. For now, it is hoped that the above examples will provide the reader with a basic understanding of the distinctions between the various verb types.

The second use of the term aspect concerns the **aspectual form** of a verb, which, at least in the case of

English and Russian, manifests itself as a grammatical opposition (e.g., English "be + -ing" - "simple verb"; Russian "perfective" - "imperfective"). Whatever the exact meanings of these oppositions may be, what is essential to the understanding of their use is that they provide the speaker with a means of describing one and the same "real-world" situation in two different ways.

In order to avoid any confusion, from now on the term **aspect** will be used in reference to the grammatical category of aspect. Aspect as a verb type will be referred to by a variety of terms, including "semantic-aspectual type", "verb class", "verb type", "aspectuality", "sposob dejstvija", and "Aktionsart".

In Russian, almost all verbs occur in so-called aspectual pairs whose members, while lexically identical, differ in the aspects which they denote. For example, the Russian equivalent of the verb "to write" has two lexically identical variants: the imperfective - "pisat'", and the normal perfective - "napisat'". However, not all verbs in Russian have both an imperfective and a perfective form. Those verbs which occur exclusively in the imperfective are referred to as "imperfectiva tantum", while those restricted to the perfective are called "perfectiva tantum". The fact that the verbs within each of these uniaspectual categories share certain semantic features necessarily leads us to suspect that aspectual

(non)pairedness is to a large degree a function of verb meaning, though, as we shall see later, this correspondance is not one-to-one.

It is precisely the relationship between verb meaning and aspectual (non)pairedness which will be examined in this thesis. Before we can determine the nature of this relationship, however, we must first define what the properties of the grammatical category of aspect should be (chapter one), define the perfective and imperfective aspects as well as the nature of their opposition (chapter two), examine various approaches to verb classification, concentrating on Vendlerian schemata (chapters three and four), and finally examine the degree to which aspectual (non)pairedness is a function of a verb's semantic-aspectual properties (chapter five). In addition, having defined our criteria for a grammatical category in chapter one, we will briefly discuss the historical development of aspect as just such a category, concerning ourselves especially with its transition into a means of viewing one and the same real-world situation from two different perspectives.

In examining the relationship between verb meaning and (non)pairedness, we will focus our attention primarily on the affirmative past tense (declarative) where the aspectual opposition is most active. Given the fact that the present tense is the exclusive domain of the

imperfective, aspectual pairedness here is irrelevant. As for the future tense and negated forms, because they are used to express non-events, that is, events which have not occurred, the use of aspect in these forms lies outside the scope of the present thesis, which is concerned with the connection between an event in reality and aspectual pairedness.

Finally, it should be noted that, with the exception of "ch", "zh", "sh", and "shch", all Russian examples will be given in the standard Latin linguistic transliteration of Cyrillic.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ASPECT AS A GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY.

A. What makes a category grammatical?

Before we can speak of the development of the grammatical category of aspect, we must first clarify exactly what we mean when we speak of a category being grammatical. In this way we will know what it is towards which aspect developed. The following is a brief outline of what appear to be the most crucial properties of a grammatical category (based on Comrie 1976: 6-10, 88; Holden, ms.: 3-4):

(1) the category must be generalizable to the majority of members in the relevant word class.

(2) the category should be coded in a fairly consistent manner, i.e., by a limited number of formal markers (Holden, ms.: 4).

(3) the meaning of the category must be distinct from the roots to which it is applied, and must have a consistent abstract meaning.

(4) the category is frequently oppositional in nature.

Aspect as it stands in Russian today meets these criteria fairly closely. For example (re: (1)), though not all verbs in Russian occur in both aspects, <u>every</u> verb must occur in either one or the other aspect. As well (re: (2)), the coding of aspect in Russian, at least in the case of suffixation, is consistent and systematic.

Prefixation as a marker of aspect is less systematic, the choice of prefix usually being lexically determined. As for the meaning of Russian aspect (re: (3)), while it may be consistent, it is extremely difficult to pinpoint. It seems that whichever meaning is abstracted from all of the contextual variants, there is always some exception left unexplained. Finally (re: (4)), that the system is oppositional in nature is clearly attested to by the existence of an overwhelming number of lexically identical verb pairs.

Having briefly outlined what we mean by the term "grammatical category", we may now turn our attention to the development of aspect into just such a category.

B. Aspect: an historical perspective.

Those concerned with the historical development of Aspect generally agree that there is no evidence to support the claim that this category might have been an Indo-European inheretance (see Maslov 1958: 4; Borodich 1953: 69-70), at least in anything resembling its current form. Rather, the system of aspectual oppositions found in such languages as Russian is seen as a Slavic innovation. If anything of an aspectual nature can be said to have been inhereted from Indo-European, it would be the so-called "sposoby dejstvija" (Aktionsarten) - sets whose membership is comprised of verbs grouped together based on

the sort of real-world situations they denote. The terms commonly applied to the various semantic-aspectual classes - statives, ingressives, inchoatives, semelfactives, evolutives, etc. - are meant to provide a description of the way in which the actions subsumed under them proceed in time.

While this categorization has obviously been imposed upon the verbs of Common Slavic long after the fact, it seems that certain semantic-aspectual verb types were marked in a relatively consistent fashion via suffixation (e.g., statives) or root-vowel alternation (e.g., definite versus indefinite verbs of motion). Except for the pairing of definite/indefinite verbs of motion, however, any marking of particular verb types which did take place was not oppositional in nature and was therefore redundant, since it served only to code an aspectuality already expressed by the verb root itself.

A number of scholars (see Borodich 1953) spectulate that in early Common Slavic (or Balto-Slavic) there was a rudimentary "polarization" of verbs into two groups along the lines of definiteness/ indefiniteness. This division, which is thought to have been characterized roughly as concrete action versus state, manifested itself in two ways (see Borodich 1953: 75):

1. the opposition of causatives to statives, which became highly productive in Baltic (e.g., buditi - bŭděti; saditi - sěděti).

2. the opposition of inchoatives to statives, which became highly productive in Slavic (e.g., sěsti - sěděti; leshti - lezhati; stati - stojati).

While there have been attempts to trace the development of Slavic Aspect back to one specific source, it is likely that Aspect as we now know it is the collective result of a number of seemingly independent developments. Two such developments - the prefixation of indefinite verbs and the formation of the Imperfect - played crucial roles in the initial stages of the evolution of Aspect in Slavic.

Prefixation can appropriately be called the fuel of aspectual development, for it created a large influx of new verbs derived, for the most part, from stems which were indefinite in nature. Because prefixes made the meanings of the verbs to which they were attached more specific, those verbs which resulted were generally of a definite semantic-aspectual type (Borodich 1953: 80). Holden (ms.: 6) observes that prefixation, which usually coded spatial (and later temporal) concepts, either contributed to the inventory of already existing categories, or created certain new ones. The new "sposoby dejstvija" are thought to have appeared in the following order (based on Maslov 1958: 28-30):

(1) Resultatives (in po-, u-, sŭ-, and later iz-/ vy-, o(b)-, za-). The meaning common to verbs of this

class had to do with "goal-directedness" (i.e., movement towards or attainment of a goal inherent in the verb's meaning).

(2) Inceptives (in vŭz-, and later za-, pro-).

(3) Delimitatives (in po-). These verbs, which were generally attached to certain statives, appeared rarely in early documents.

(4) Resultative-iteratives. These arose where resultative prefixes combined with already existing iterative verbs (e.g., izŭnositi).

The formation and spread of the Imperfect past tense ending, which took place at roughly the same time as prefixation, is seen by most as the first major step in the development of Aspect. Prior to the appearance of the Imperfect in Common Slavic, most verbs were inflected for the past tense solely by the sigmatic Aorist, which was characterized by its -x- (-s-, -sh'-) suffix. The Imperfect arose where the sigmatic Aorist and the long -e- or long -a- stem vowel of statives fused and then began extending to non-stative verbs. It is the extension of the stative-like meaning of the Imperfect to definite verbs that brings about the first indications of a grammatical opposition in the past tense.

According to Borodich (1953: 81), the attachment of the new Imperfect suffix to a definite verb type could have one of two results: (a) if no corresponding

indefinite yet existed for the definite in question, then a totally new indefinite verb was derived (e.g., "kreshchati" came from "krestiti" in this fashion); (b) if a corresponding indefinite already existed (as was the case with movement verbs, e.g., nositi - nesti, as well as prefixed verbs derived from simplex indefinites), then the "marriage" of the indefinite meaning of the imperfect suffix and the verb's definite meaning resulted in the definite verb being seen as a process, e.g., nesēaxŭ - 'I was carrying' (Borodich 1953: 81).

It is when either the Aorist or the Imperfect can be attached to <u>one and the same</u> stem that a crucial step in the evolution of Aspect has been taken, since a means of viewing one and the same verb in two different ways has now been provided.

We must keep in mind, however, that the Imperfect did not simply blanket all definite verbs in one giant motion. Rather, the Imperfect is thought to have gradually extended its domain one lexical category at a time, starting with resultatives (cf., Maslov 1958: 32-38). Nor was there initially a clear-cut opposition between the Imperfect process meaning and the completion meaning of the Aorist, though the Imperfect did retain the general meaning of "state" which it had inhereted with the long -e-/-a- suffix. Instead, there appeared to be a great deal of overlap in the functions of the two inflections, with the Imperfect finally coming to present a resultative

action proceeding towards its goal, and the Aorist - an action having reached its goal. Holden (ms.: 8) notes that at this point, the system (with the exception of the behavior of "pure" statives such as věděti and znati) resembles that of present-day English, with the Imperfect corresponding to the Progressive as the marked aspect, and the Aorist corresponding to the simple past. There is, in addition, the Perfect, which is a contaminating category somewhere between Aspect and tense. As we shall see later, changes in the nature of the Perfect served to stimulate further developments in both the meaning and form of Russian Aspect.

We do not as yet, however, have a grammatical category, since the newly developed means of "viewing" the same real-world situation in two different ways has up to this point extended only to certain definites (mainly resultatives). The next major step in the evolution of Aspect, then, is the gradual inclusion of new verb types in the Imperfect - Aorist opposition. Rather than going into details, we will simply note that, as the category spreads, taking in more and more lexical items, the very meaning of the Imperfect - Aorist opposition changes, since each newly-encompassed pair brings with it its own particular form of semantic-aspectual meaning.

The earliest OCS documents show that, in addition to the large number of verbs now paired in the past tense,

there had also arisen a binary opposition of Indefinite and Aorist stems in the Perfect. Kukushkina (1978: 56) suggests that this opposition was linked to the reanalysis of the Imperfect suffix, whereby the long -e-/-a- was disassociated from the -x- marker of the past tense and reassociated with the stem (e.g., bija/xŭ < bi/jaxŭ). This new Indefinite stem was then extended to the l-participle of the Perfect which had, up until this point, been formed only from the Aorist stem. Thus, we now have an Aorist - Imperfect opposition not only in the past tense (e.g., tvorixŭ - tvorjaxŭ; bixŭ - bivaxŭ), but in the Perfect as well (e.g., tvoril - tvorjal < tvorja/xŭ < tvor/jaxŭ; bil - bival < biva/xŭ < biv/axŭ). This state of affairs later extended to the Present tense, where the new Imperfect stem was opposed to the already existing present tense forms, which were derived from the same base as the Aorist (e.g., trorju - tvorjaju; b'ju - bivaju).

At this stage, then, most verbs could have both Imperfect and non-Imperfect stems in all three tense forms (Past, Perfect, Present). This meant that in any tense form (present or non-present), the action denoted by a verb could (theoretically) be seen either as durative/ progressive (Imperfect) or as lacking this meaning (non-Imperfect). As a result of these developments, however, there arose certain fundamental conflicts in meaning between stem types and tense forms, the consequences of which eventually led to the transformation

of the Old Russian Aorist - Imperfect system into the Perfective - Imperfective system of Modern Russian.

One such conflict - the incompatibitly of the progressive meaning inherent in the Imperfect stem with the meaning of completion (in relation to the reference time) expressed by the Perfect - could be resolved in one of two ways:

(1) A form with iterative meaning, which was a compromise of sorts, could develop (e.g., xazhival, kashival), or

(2) The completion meaning could be totally lost, and the Imperfect-based l-participle take on a durative or progressive past tense meaning (e.g., tvorjal).

Without going into details, we will simply note that the semantics of the verb in question determined which solution would obtain (Kukushkina 1978: 57).

Another clash of meanings resulted when the completion meaning of the Aorist-based forms together with the process and iterative senses of the Imperfect-based ones extended into the present tense. Now that the non-Imperfect based Present form had acquired a completion meaning, the problem became one of "synchronizing a completion point with a constantly moving Now-reference time..." (Holden, ms.: 10). As a consequence, the meaning of this form became totally incompatible with the present tense, and was eventually used instead for future reference.

The final step in the transition of Aspect into its

modern form and meaning did not come about until the participial marker of the Perfect took over from the Aorist and Imperfect as the regular past tense in Russian. As early as the XIV or XV centuries, the Perfect began to gradually change in form and meaning. Starting with the 3rd person, the auxiliary verb "byti" began dropping out, while the l-participle lost its nominal quality, itself evolving into a verb suffix. As a result, the Aorist and the Imperfect were increasingly confused with the two forms of the l-participle, until the Old Russian past tense system was lost (probably by the end of the XVII century). The resulting "-l-" past tense form, its stem differentiated in terms of Perfective/Imperfective, basically represents the aspectual system as it stands in Modern Russian (Prokopovich 1982: 40-43).

Summary

If we now step back and look at the evolution of Aspect as a whole, we see that, starting right from the time that the stative suffix fused with the Aorist -x- and began attaching itself to non-stative verbs, the category has been in a constant state of expansion, extending itself not only to new verb types, but to domains other than the past tense. As this expansion continued, the meaning of the category, or nature of the Imperfect - Aorist (later imperfective - perfective) opposition, changed, becoming more abstract:

	Imperfect	Aorist
1.	"stativeness"	"statement of completion"
2.	"action proceeding towards it goal"	"action having reached its goal"
3.	"action seen as a process"	"absence of Imperfect meaning"
4.	"process, iterative generic"	"completion"
5.	"absence of Aorist/ perfective meaning"	"totality of an action"

In the next chapter, our task will be to examine the aspectual opposition as it stands in Modern Russian. Considering the fact that the category now encompasses the whole verb lexicon, and assuming that its meaning is based on the ever-expanding number of oppositions of various verb types which it attracted over time, the meaning of the Aspects in Russian and the nature of their opposition will have to be highly abstract. As well, larger contexts will have to be considered.

II. ASPECT: TOWARDS A DEFINITION.

In the preceding historical section it was established that the grammatical category of aspect has evolved to the point where most verbs in Modern Russian can be used in either the imperfective or perfective aspectual forms and that this evolution was partly conditioned by verb type. We turn now to the problem of defining the aspectual forms themselves, as well as the nature of their opposition.

A. Aspect: Traditional approaches.

The traditional approach to defining the aspects has been to take all of the various contextual meanings associated with each aspect ("the widely differing meanings assumed by the forms in various contexts" - Leinonen 1982: 9) and from these abstract some sort of invariant meaning for each of the aspects which would, hopefully, encompass as many of the concrete/particular meanings as possible.

There have been two major points of view in defining the invariant meanings of the aspects (see Sheljakin 1975: 13; Galnaityte 1977: 61). In both approaches, most of the attention has been devoted to defining the invariant meaning of the perfective, while the imperfective is seen as either not having, or as neutral in respect to, the positive attribute of the perfective (defined, that is, in

relation to the perfective).

One approach, "dostizhenije vnutrennego predela" (cf., Sheljakin 1975: 13-16) defines aspect in terms of an action's relation to the boundary expressed in its meaning: the perfective aspect describes an action as having reached its "inherent boundary", while the imperfective expresses the non-attainment of this boundary.

The problem with the "dostizhenije predela" definition is that there are numerous examples of perfective verbs which have nothing to do with the reaching of an inherent boundary. Examples of this are the delimitative and perdurative Aktionsarten (e.g., "poguljat'", "pochitat'", "pobolet'", "prostojat'"), as well as verbs indicating the beginning of an action (e.g., "pobezhat'", "zakrichat'", "podut'"). In these cases, the perfective forms are derived from innately aterminatve verbs (Galnaityte 1977: p.62). Instead of some inherent boundary being reached, the perfective usually sets a temporal limit to, or chooses a particular phase of, the "unchanging state or activity" (Leinonen 1982: p.29).

Maslov (1973) distinguishes between the qualitative limitation connected with the perfective of semantically terminative verbs, and the quantitative limitation connected with that of aterminative ones. With terminative verbs, the perfective presents the action as

having reached its inherent boundary, while with aterminative ones, it sets an external, temporal limit on the action or state. As we have seen, the "dostizhenije predela" definition accounts only for the qualitative type. What seems to be common to both types is the endeavour to view an action in the perfective "in its totality" or as an "indivisible whole".

It is, in fact, this notion of "totality" which forms the basis of the other major approach to defining the invariant meanings of the aspects. In most definitions of this sort, the perfective presents an action as an indivisible whole, while the imperfective aspect is neutral in this respect. It is common practice among proponents of the "totality" approach to illustrate the temporal character of the aspects using various co-occurence rules. For example, by taking into account the combinability of aspectual forms with certain types of words, Bondarko (1971: 10-21) attempts to establish a set of semantic features which can potentially be expressed by the aspects. In doing this, he notes whether:

a. a given semantic feature is constantly expressed by one or the other aspect;
b. a feature may be expressed by a given aspectual form, but is not constant for that form;
c. a feature is not expressed by an aspectual form except under very specific conditions;
d. a feature is not expressed by an aspectual form at

all.

For example:

1. Based on the fact that the perfective cannot be combined with the adverb "vse" (e.g., "on vse podnimalsja", but not "*on vse podnjalsja"), and that it cannot be used in the actual present denoting an action in progress at the moment of speech (e.g., to the question "chto ty delaesh'?" one can say "chitaju" or "pishu", but not "prochitaju" or "napishu"), Bondarko concludes that the feature "process" (processnost') cannot be expressed by the perfective aspect.

The imperfective aspect may, but does not necessarily have to, express an action in progress.

2. Because the perfective cannot complement the verbs "to begin", "to finish", "to stop", or "to continue" (nachat', konchit', perestat', prodolzhat'), it is said to constantly express the feature "indivisible totality" (nedelimaja celostnost'). This feature implies that the perfective refers collectively to all the phases of an action denoted by a verb (initial, medial, and final). Thus, no one point of an action denoted by the perfective can be "taken out" as a point of temporal reference, which is exactly the function served by the verbs "to begin", "to finish", etc. (Leinonen 1982: 40).

The imperfective is limited to expressing "totality" only in certain contexts, the most well-known being the

so-called "general-factual" meaning. Here, the imperfective is said to be neutral in respect to the feature "totality", expressing neither its presence nor its absence (e.g., On chital/ prochital Annu Kareninu.). Rather, an action denoted by the imperfective may be perceived as a whole due to contextual factors.

The imperfective is also neutral in respect to the "totality" feature in the so-called "limited repetition" meaning (e.g., On stuchal/ postuchal tri raza.).

3. Particularly in the past tense, the perfective tends to occur with adverbials which assign a verb to a definite single time-point (e.g., "odnazhdy", "kak-to raz"). At the same time, the perfective combines with words indicating temporal non-localization of an action (e.g., "inogda", "chasto", "vsegda") only in certain contexts, the most notable being the so-called "exemplifying" (nagljadno-primernoe) meaning of the perfective present:

> Inogda vesnoj byvaet tak: naletit burja, poguljaet chasa dva-tri i tak zhe neozhidanno zatixnet, kak nachalas'.

Thus, while the perfective normally expresses the feature "localization" (lokalizovannost'), under certain conditions it may not.

The imperfective is readily found with indicators of either localization or non-localization:

> On sejchas volnujetsja.
> On obychno volnujetsja.

Thus, the imperfective may or may not express the feature

"localization".

4. The perfective is limited in its combinability with adverbials denoting unlimited repetition (e.g., "inogda", "chasto", "vsegda", etc.). Therefore, the perfective does not express the feature "repetition" (povtorjaemost') except under certain conditions (see 3.).

The imperfective easily combines with such adverbials and therefore the feature "repetition" is possible (though not mandatory) for the imperfective.

5. The fact that the perfective does not easily combine with adverbials used to denote duration (e.g. dolgo, dva chasa, tri goda, etc.) shows that it does not normally express the feature "duration" (dlitel'nost'). The exceptions are the delimitative and perdurative Aktionsarten (e.g.: dolgo/celyj mesjac probolel/ prolezhal/ probyl; dva chasa posidel/ pogovoril/ poxodil).

The imperfective readily combines with the above adverbials, and therefore may express the feature "duration".

6. The perfective is used often with adverbials expressing the sudden appearance of an action (e.g. ja sidel i chital... vdrug/ neozhidanno/vnezapno kto-to voshel), and therefore may express the feature "sudden appearance" (nastuplenie fakta). This feature concerns a wider

context, having to do with the relationship of an action to the "background" which has preceded it.

The imperfective combines with such adverbials only in the historic present (e.g. sizhu ja odnazhdy i chitaju... vdrug kto-to vxodit/govorit/sprashivaet,...), and in the past tense of a repeated action (e.g., Chasto v etot moment vdrug kto-to vxodil...).

7. The perfective, when occuring in sentences with other perfective forms, usually expresses the feature "sequentiality" (posledovatel'nost'):

Ja vykljuchil svet, razdelsja i leg.

The imperfective expresses sequentiality only under certain conditions - namely the historical present and the past tense of repeated actions:

Ja vykljuchaju svet, razdevajus' i lozhus' (historical present).

V eto vremja on vsegda vykljuchal svet, razdevalsja i lozhilsja (repeated action).

8. When the imperfective occurs in sentences with verbs of either aspect, it is usually interpreted as expressing an activity or state simultaneous to other actions (e.g., On sidel, molchal i dumal).

The perfective does not normally express the feature "simultaneity" (odnovremennost').

From the above inventory of features, collectively termed the "semantic potential" of the aspects, Bondarko attempts to single out an essential feature which best characterizes each of the aspects. Because the feature "totality" is constantly expressed by the perfective aspect while that of "process" is always absent, these two traits together form the perfective's dominant semantic feature. On the other hand, for the imperfective the possibility of expressing the semantic feature "process" is basic (though not constant), while the feature "totality" is not normally characteristic to the imperfective.

Bondarko defends his decision to oppose "totality" to "process" by saying that the feature "totality" presents an action in such a way that it cannot be seen as unfolding or developing. However, while "process" is seen as the imperfective's most basic feature, Bondarko still holds to the view that the imperfective is the so-called unmarked member of the aspectual opposition, expressing no single positive feature constantly. Rather, the imperfective is defined negatively in relation to the perfective, i.e., the imperfective does not possess the feature of indivisible totality.

If we are to accept Bondarko's "totality" view of aspect, then along with it we must also accept certain

cases of "aspectual neutralization" such as repetition and the general-factual meaning. Where the imperfective expresses repetition (e.g., On kazhdyj den' vypivaet po stakanu moloka.), we are dealing with a series of identical actions, each of which is in itself completed or total. In the general-factual meaning (e.g., Vy chitali "Vojnu i mir"? - Da, chital.) the imperfective expresses a single, completed action - supposedly a function of the perfective. In an attempt to explain these apparent contradictions, it is said that because the imperfective is neutral in respect to the feature "totality", expressing neither its presence nor its absence, it is open to just such a totality interpretation due to contextual factors (see Bondarko 1970: 30). That is, it is behaving like the typical unmarked member of a binary opposition.

As well, the "totality" definition of the perfective as it stands is not capable of explaining the so-called "summing-up" (summarnoe) meaning of the perfective where, with explicit quantification, perfective forms may be used to indicate a series of identical actions, each in itself an indivisible whole:

On dvazhdy prochital pis'mo i razorval ego
On eshche tri raza posmotrel tuda.

Finally, we should note that some of those aspectual features seen by Bondarko as ultimately derived from the dominant features of totality and process are, in fact,

considered by others to be central in defining the aspects. As we shall see later, Gurevich (1971) and Hopper (1979) view aspect in terms of "sequentiality" and "simultaneity", while Thelin (1978) and Leinonen (1983) see "localization" as fundamental in the use and interpretation of aspectual forms.

B. Aspect: Discourse function.

Gurevich (1971) specifically criticizes Bondarko's attempt to unite features as diverse as totality, process, localization, repetition, duration, sudden appearance, simultaneity, and sequentiality into one category. As well, he questions how it is that the features totality and process can form a grammatical opposition (this, of course, is not exactly what Bondarko claimed).

For Gurevich, the invariant aspectual meaning is to be found in the area of usage. Namely, the perfective expresses an action's link with the previous and subsequent actions in a consecutive chain of events (e.g., on vstal, odelsja i vyshel na ulicu). He calls this property "sequentiality" (sekventnost'), with the term "nesekventnost'" corresponding to the absence of this feature in the imperfective.

There exist two variant perfective meanings which come about when there is a break (or "gap") in the chain of consecutive events. Where a static background precedes the action denoted by the perfective, the meaning is

"inceptive" and begins a chain (smena) of events:

> Byl rannij chas. Ryby eshche tol'ko-tol'ko prosypalis'. I vdrug po vsemu plesu prokatilsja neverojatnoj sily groxot. Poshli volny....

This meaning can be lexically supported by adverbials such as "vdrug", "vnezapno", "neozhidanno". The "resultative" meaning arises when an action is bordered by a subsequent static background ("fon"). Here is where we find the perfect meaning of the past perfective, which relates the completion of an action to a later (presumably non-adjacent - M. M.) point in time:

> Dolzhno byt', vy uzhe vse nauki zabyli!

This meaning may be supported by lexical means as well (e.g. - k etomu vremeni, uzhe, tol'ko chto).

While the imperfective is characterized negatively in respect to the feature "sequentiality", it does have two positive meanings: the "process" and the "event" (sobytijnoe, also called the general-factual) meanings. The process meaning represents an action as linked to another action/point/interval, but not sequentially. Rather than expressing the dynamics of a chain of events, the process meaning expresses that of an action itself.

The event meaning denotes only the fact of an action's completion outside of any link (sequential or not) with another action/point/interval. It expresses neither the dynamics of a chain of events nor that of an action itself.

Gurevich justifies the existence of these two

independent imperfective meanings by pointing to the fact that only one or the other meaning is realized in certain verb groups. Thus, for example, the verbs "prixodit'", "prinosit'", "zaxodit'" allow only an event interpretation, while the verbs "priblizhat'sja", "ischezat'" denote only processes.

For Gurevich, the use of the imperfective to express repetition is the major instance of aspectual neutralization. While the meaning of the imperfective does not contradict that of repetition in the area of localization, since both the imperfective event meaning and that of repetition exclude location on a specific time point, neutralization is still said to exist because the imperfective form may denote a <u>sequence</u> of events which is repeated or habitual:

> Po utram on, kak tol'ko vstaval, tak srazu zhe bezhal na rechku.

Thus, for the sequential meaning of the perfective, a given action must have sequential links with other actions or points in time. The imperfective is characterized either by a total absence of situational localization (the sobytijnoe meaning), or by the absence of sequential links in the presence of situational localization (process meaning). In any event, the common trait of all imperfective meanings is non-sequentiality ("nesekventnost'") (Gurevich 1971: 77).

Hopper (1979) examines the various means used by languages in making the distinction between foregrounded and backgrounded events in narrative discourse. He takes it as a universal of narrative discourse that an overt distinction is made between "the actual story line [i.e., foregrounded events] and the language of supportive material [i.e., backgrounded events]" (Hopper 1979: 213). The main difference between foregrounded and backgrounded events has to do with sequentiality. Foregrounded events succeed one another in an order corresponding to the real world, while backgrounded events are concurrent with the foregrounded ones (Hopper: 214). Backgrounded events, with their property of simultaneity, usually amplify or comment on the foregrounded ones, which carry the narrative forward (Hopper: 214-215). In addition, backgrounded events are not sequenced in relation to one another, and may therefore be located anywhere along the time axis or perhaps not on the time axis at all (Hopper: 215).

Many languages realize the foreground-background distinction through a specialized verb morphology. In Russian, it is the past perfective which is generally used for foregrounding, while the past imperfective is used for backgrounding. It is, of course, more accurate to speak of foregrounding and backgrounding in terms of the clauses which contain these respective verb forms.

However, according to Hopper, "the selection of

perfective versus imperfective verb forms is conditioned not only by the discourse functions of foreground and background but also by the distribution of focus (i.e., new and old information) in the sentence" (Hopper: 218). Typically, the imperfective past is associated with frequent changes of subject which can be introduced to support and amplify the story-line, and provide causal information. The perfective past, typically used for single, sequential events, "is associated with an informational structure such that there is a high degree of topicality in the subject" (which tends to be definite, human, and pronominal), the predicate of the verb being the focus of the sentence (Hopper: 218).

It is the disruption of this informational distribution which accounts for the general-factual meaning of the imperfective aspect. That is, where the subject seems to have all the hallmarks of the oldest, most presupposed part of the sentence, but at the same time "the verb and its complements do NOT together represent the newly imparted information". The focus may be on the subject:

> Kto pisal "Vojnu i mir"?
>
> Tolstoj pisal "Vojnu i mir".

As well, focus may be on an adverbial:

> V etoj porternoj ja obdumyval svoju dissertatsiju i napisal pervoe ljubovnoe pis'mo k Vere. Pisal karandashom.

Here are some examples which have in common the

presupposition of the action itself:

Vy uzhe zakazyvali?

Vy chitali "Vojnu i mir"? - Chital.

Thus, what leads to the choice of the imperfective rather than the perfective in these examples is that "no new event is signalled; instead an old event (one that is presupposed) is as it were resurrected and commented on" (Hopper 1979: 219).

Hopper and Gurevich clearly see aspect in terms of what Leinonen (1982: 62) based on Grimes (1975: 232-233) calls "outer aspect": the expression of "the relationship between one proposition and the next - sequence, logical relation, overlap or simultaneity, or indirect effect." Outer aspect is to be distinguished from "inner aspect", which is concerned with "the shape of a particular action: taken as a whole, drawn out in time, repeated, distributed, beginning, ending, or potential" (Grimes 1975: 232-233).

Bondarko (1970: 27), in reference to his semantic potential of the aspects, is also careful to distinguish between aspectual features concerned with the characteristics of an action itself (totality, process, localization, duration) and those which characterize actions in relation to each other (sudden appearance, sequence, simultaneity).

With Hopper and Gurevich, however, the implication is

that aspect in Russian is to be defined first and foremost in terms of "outer aspect". Although we might agree that there is a strong tendancy for sequentiality/ foregrounding and simultaneity/ backgrounding to be expressed by the perfective and imperfective aspects respectively, this correspondence is by no means one-to-one. Imperfective forms may denote sequenced events, and perfective forms simultaneous events, as shown in the examples below (taken from Bondarko 1971: 180-193):

1. Perfective forms denote simultaneous facts in the following cases:

   a. Simultaneous states resulting from a number of unordered events (the perfect meaning):

      On postarel za etu nedelju, osunulsja i potemnel v lice.

   b. A collection of facts, the order of which is irrelevant. This interpretation of the perfective is limited to certain Aktionsarten:

      Rasstavshis' s dedom, Kirila postojal sredi ploshchadi, podumal i poshel nazad...

2. Imperfective forms, excluding repeated facts, are interpreted sequentially in the following instances:

   a. Durative state of affairs followed by another. Such a sequential relationship is expressed by certain adverbs (e.g., zatem, posle, chtoby):

      On dolgo xodil po ulicam, zatem sidel v gorodskom sadu.

3. Combinations of various aspectual forms:

a. Appearance of a fact followed by a durative state of affairs:

Ona prishla i slushala.

On zaleg i zhdal.

In the above examples, the interpretation of the sequence of events depends largely on the reader's/listener's pragmatic knowledge of the way in which events are most likely to be ordered in the real world (Leinonen 1982: 103), and to a certain degree on the order in which the verb forms occur within a sentence (Bondarko 1971, p. 182). At least in the above instances, then, the definition of the aspects solely in terms of sequentiality (perfective) and non-sequentiality (imperfective) is invalid. Rather, these might be described as particular discourse functions of aspect.

C. Aspect and time.

Thelin (1978) has defined aspect in Russian in terms of a heirarchy of features, the most fundamental being expressed by the feature +/-TIME, which "defines events in relation to the time axis (+TIME = on the time axis, -TIME = outside the time axis)" (Thelin 1978: 13). In saying that events characterized by the feature +TIME are conceived of as associated with the time line, Thelin means that they are "attached to a more or less concretely defined temporal context (situation)."

Events seen as +TIME may be realized either by the

perfective or the imperfective aspects, depending on how their contact with the time line is conceived (see below), while those characterized as -TIME are always denoted by the imperfective. Thelin's use of the feature +/-TIME allows us to explain the difference between the various contextual meanings associated with the imperfective which have, up until now, been collectively referred to as "neutral in respect to totality" (Bondarko) or "not expressing sequentiality" (Gurevich). The process meaning, which is anchored to the time line either by its use in the actual present (e.g., Sejchas on pishet pis'mo) or by context and/or adverbials in the past (e.g., Ona pisala pis'mo, kogda ja prishel; Vchera v dva chasa ona pisala pis'mo) can now be differentiated from the generic, habitual, iterative, and general-factual meanings, which are all -TIME.

Thelin's view of the controversial general-factual meaning as -TIME (i.e., not related to time: lacking a specific point of reference) is entirely consistent with rules of its use: The general-factual may only be used in contexts where it cannot be "concretized" either by relationships to other actions (i.e., sequentiality or simultaneity) or by adverbials which might assign it to a definite, single time-point (cf., Sheljakin 1976: 57). In characterizing the general-factual as -TIME, its apparent confusion with the meaning of the perfective can be eliminated, since the perfective always expresses the

feature +TIME (see below).

Those events which are seen as associated with the time axis, i.e., +TIME, are further differentiated according to the nature of this contact: whether it is total (+TOT) or partial (-TOT). Partial contact (-TOT) is always expressed by the imperfective. It is here that we get the process meaning of the imperfective, where only one of a number of potentially locatable time-points or intervals associated with the event is assigned to the time line. That is, reference is made only to one internal part of the event or process, e.g.:

Kogda ja voshel, ona chitala gazetu.
Ona spala, kogda ja prishel domoj.
Ona krepko spala, kogda vdrug razbudil rezkij zvonok telefona.
Vchera v dva chasa ona chitala gazetu/ spala.

Events characterized as +TOT, on the other hand, are always expressed by the perfective. Here, we are dealing with the "total projection of the event onto the time axis" (Thelin 1978: 34). Note, however, that the event need not be punctual in order to be assigned, as a whole, to the time line. Extended events (such as those in the delimitative and perdurative Aktionsarten) may also be conceived of as totally time-related.

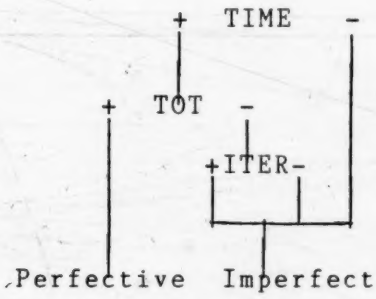
The next feature in the hierarchy is +/-ITER (+/-iterative). +TOT events are -ITER even in cases of

"summarizing enumeration of repeated totalized events" expressed by the perfective (cf., Bondarko's "summarnoe znachenie"):

On neskol'ko raz posmotrel tuda i ushel.

Events seen as either -TIME or -TOT (i.e., those denoted by the imperfective) can be + or -ITER.

Thelin's basic feature analysis of aspect can be represented in tree form:



An obvious consequence of Thelin's approach is that the concept of privative opposition is out of the question: "...the traditional 'privative interpretation' was a direct consequence of the attempt to cover - proceeding from the morphological structure - in one single opposition the entire complex aspect semantics" (Thelin 1978: 111). In his model, aspect meanings are expressed by equipollent oppositions, with no simple correlation between positively specified features and markedness or negatively specified features and unmarkedness. "We probably have to assume that both negative and positive values can be marked, which is a

matter of context."

Leinonen (1982: 173-182) draws a parallel between the temporal locatability of actions denoted by the perfective and imperfective aspects on the one hand, and the use of definite and indefinite articles on the other. She begins by introducing the idea of a shared speaker-hearer set:

> For NP's, this [the shared speaker-hearer set] is a set of objects delimited by the topic of discourse, or pragmatically by the speech situation. For temporal locatability of verbal notions, the set is the linear sequence of time points, onto which the development of history, past, predicted, or currently being experienced, is projected.

What is common to the various uses of the definite article is that the hearer is being instructed by the speaker to <u>locate</u> the referent(s) in question in the established shared set of information (Hawkins 1978: 114). In addition, it is essential that "the" refers to the <u>totality</u> of the objects or mass in the relevant shared set which satisfy the referring expression (Hawkins 1978: 159). This property of the definite article, whereby the reference is all-inclusive is referred to by Hawkins as "inclusiveness". In summary, then, the speaker performs the following acts when using a definite article:

> He (a) introduces a referent(s) to the hearer; (b) instructs the hearer to locate the referent in some shared set of objects; (c) refers to the totality of the object(s) or mass within this set which satisfy the referring expression (Hawkins 1978: 167).

The perfective aspect also serves as a form of

instruction to the hearer, telling him/her that the action denoted by the verb is located/ locatable on the time axis at a certain time-point or interval (Leinonen 1982: 174-175). The temporal reference is said to be all-inclusive in that the verbal notion, understood as being an indivisible whole, "covers all the time points assignable to it," inclusively (Leinonen: 174-175).

This approach to the perfective seems to account for a number of acknowledged "difficult cases" such as the "summarnoe" meaning of the perfective aspect, as well as the delimitative and perdurative Aktionsarten. In the first instance, the verbal notion is treated as a single unit despite its discontinuity in reality, so that all time points assignable to it may be located at a specific interval on the time line. With the delimitative and perdurative Aktionsarten, the event in question is also treated as a single unit, this time in spite of the extended nature of the event.

As for the perfect meaning of the perfective, while the time point of the event itself is said to be indefinite, the resulting state, which is present at the reference time and limited at its beginning, is interpreted as located on the time line.

Leinonen also attempts to draw a parallel between the locatability of imperfective actions and that of indefinite referents. According to Leinonen, in standard

logical formulations the indefinite determiners "a" and "some" are represented by the existential quantifier, paraphrased as "there exists at least one x such that..." (Leinonen 1982: 176). However, if an indefinite referent is to be located in a shared set, certain conditions must be met. Namely, the indefinite description must be understood as referring to not-all objects of the required kind in a given set. There must exist "at least one more such object in the shared set which the reference can exclude" in order for it to be understood as being located there (Hawkins 1978: 184). Whatever claim is predicated of the included referent(s) may or may not be true of the excluded one(s), though this is irrelevant since nothing is being predicated of them anyway (Hawkins 1978: 185). Hawkins calls this precondition for locating indefinite referents in a shared set "exclusiveness", which, as we see, is in complete contrast to the "inclusiveness" condition attached to definite reference.

For Leinonen, indefiniteness as applied to the locatability of the imperfective means that there are several points in time at which the action in question could be located. If one is chosen, it is to the exclusion of adjacent time-points where the situation is the same (cf., Thelin's impartial contact with the time-axis, i.e., -TOT). With Leinonen, as with Thelin, it is only where the imperfective denotes concrete states of affairs (i.e., +TIME) that we can speak of locatability.

Abstract states of affairs (the iterative, habitual, and generic meanings of the imperfective) as well as the general-factual are, by default, non-locatable, since they are all, in Thelin's terms, -TIME.

Thus, while Leinonen's analogy between definiteness and aspect may warrant further development by others, it seems that, in the final analysis, we are led back to Thelin's +/-TIME and +/-TOT. There is, however, one fundamental difference between the two approaches which justifies further consideration of Leinonen's views. This divergence lies not in the nature of individual aspectual features, but rather in the relative importance assigned to these features in the aspectual hierarchy. Thelin, as we have seen, considers +/-TIME to be the most fundamental aspectual feature. As a consequence of this, however, the perfective and imperfective no longer form a grammatical opposition. Leinonen, on the other hand, maintains the oppositional nature of the aspects, defining the perfective as "inherently located" and the imperfective as "inherently non-located".

By "inherently located", Leinonen means that

> the perfective form, indicating a change of state or an indivisible whole, at the same time shows that the change or the indivisible whole is located or locatable on the time axis at a certain time-point or interval (Leinonen 1982: 174).

"Inherent non-locatedness", on the other hand, means that the imperfective as such is always temporally ambiguous.

That is, in a minimal context, the hearer does not know whether the verbal notion in question is to be located on the time axis or not. Localization of the imperfective can only be determined through contextual disambiguation. For example, depending on context, the sentence "Ja myla posudu" can be interpreted as:

(1) located at a specific time-point, e.g., "Cto ty delala vchera vecherom v sem' chasov?" - "Ja myla posudu."

(2) habitual, and therefore non-located, e.g., "Cto ty delala kazhdyj den' v sem' chasov?" - "Ja myla posudu."

(3) "general-factual", and therefore non-located, e.g., "Ty myla posudu?" - "Da, (ja) myla posudu." Here, though the action is no doubt completed, there is no need to assign it to a specific time point, and therefore perfective is not used.

Thus, it seems that the locatability of the imperfective aspect in Russian is a function of discourse.

Summary.

In this chapter we have been examining a number of approaches to defining aspect, all of which have attempted to distill some sort of "common denominator" meaning from the contextual variants associated with each of the aspects. The more traditional approaches have defined

aspect in terms of the meaning of the perfective, which is said to express a qualitative, and in later theories, also quantitative limitation to the action in question. Here, the imperfective is simply seen as neutral in respect to the perfective. Later theories have concentrated on some of the discourse functions of the aspects, defining aspect in terms of usage alone. The most recent approaches have developed a theory of aspect based on the recognition of its discourse functions - that aspect has to do with the way in which an action is (seen as) associated with the time-axis. The development of this approach is linked to a recognition of the fact that aspect has certain functions in discourse.

Our concern in the last two chapters has been with the establishment of the current system of aspectual pairedness in Russian: from an historical perspective to show the extension of the category, from a synchronic perspective to show its resultant meaning. We now would like to turn out attention towards an analysis of verbs remaining outside this binary system. But to do this it will first be necessary to review the literature on semantic classification of verbs, for it is here that we hope to find the clues for the exclusion of certain verb types.

III. VERB TYPOLOGIES.

A. Vendlerian schemata

Vendler (1967: 97-121) classifies verbs into four distinct categories - states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements - based on their co-occurrence with certain time adverbials and tenses, and on various logical entailments. The following are examples of verbs from his four categories:

States	Activities	Accomplishments	Achievements
desire	run	paint a picture	recognize
love	walk	make a chair	reach
know	swim	build a house	find
be tall	push a cart	run a mile	die

Activities and accomplishments (both of which are said to be "processes going on in time") are to be distinguised from states and achievements by virtue of the fact that the former occur readily in the progressive, while the latter do not. Compare

What are you doing?
*I am knowing/loving/recognizing someone/something

with

What are you doing?
I am running/writing/drawing a circle.

Within the group of verbs allowing the progressive, activities differ from accomplishments in that they are compatible with adverbials answering the question "For how long?" (which we will call "for"-adverbials) but not with those answering the question "How long did it take?"

("in"-adverbials):

For how long did Bill walk?
Bill walked for an hour

*How long did it take Bill to walk?
*It took Bill an hour to walk

or

*Bill walked in an hour.

With accomplishments, the situation is reversed:

*For how long did John draw the circle?
*John drew the circle for five minutes

How long did it take John to draw the circle?
It took John five minutes to draw the circle

or

John drew the circle in five minutes.

In addition, an activity sentence such as "Bill walked for an hour" entails that at any time during that hour "Bill walked" was true. However, from an accomplishment sentence such as "John wrote a letter in an hour" it cannot be inferred that "John wrote a letter" was true at any point of time within that hour. A similar criterion used by other authors (e.g., Dowty 1979: 57) involves entailments from the progressive to the perfect. Thus, where V is an activity verb, X is V-ing entails that X has V-ed. However, if V is an accomplishment verb, then X has V-ed cannot be true. For example, while "Bill is walking" entails that "Bill has walked", it cannot be deduced from "John is writing a letter" that "John has written a letter."

Based on the above tests, Vendler concludes that activities are those processes that "go on in time in a homogeneous way; any part of the process is of the same

nature as the whole." While accomplishments also go on in time, they are said to differ in that they "proceed toward a terminus which is logically necessary to their being what they are." Note that Vendler (rightly) makes no claim about the terminus necessarily being reached.

Vendler decides to group "states" and "achievements" together based on the fact that neither seem appropriate in the progressive, i.e., neither indicate processes going on in time. Achievements, which "occur at a single moment" and "can be predicted only for single moments of time," readily co-occur with adverbials answering the question "At what time?" but not with "for"-adverbials:

At what time did you reach the top?
At noon sharp
but
*For how long did you reach the top?
*For one hour/one minute/one second.

States, on the other hand, "last for a period of time" and "can be predicted for shorter or longer periods (rather than moments - M. M.) of time". While they may co-occur with "for"-adverbials, states seem inappropriate with adverbials answering the question "At what time?":

For how long did you know her?
For three years
but
*At what time did you know her?
*At noon sharp.

As the above examples show, states cannot be assigned to a specific time-point. The only sense in which "He loved her a noon sharp" could be grammatical is if it were reinterpreted as an achievement verb. This would seem to

support Vendler's claim of a single state-achievement genus.

B. Modifications to Vendler's scheme.

Statives

A number of authors have modified the basic Vendlerian scheme by dividing statives into two subgroups. The first group includes such "genuine" statives as "know", "like", and "exist", while the second group consists of verbs like "sit", "stand", and "lie". For English, the recognition of this second group of statives is motivated by the fact that they, unlike genuine statives, can occur in the progressive (see Dowty 1979: 173-187). According to Dowty, sit-stand-lie statives differs from genuine ones in that they can be used to predicate something of an individual or object at a certain moment or interval in time, i.e., based only on what is known of the individual at that moment or interval. Genuine statives (as well as habitual readings of any verb type) predicate something of an individual based on what we know to be true of that individual at various prior moments or intervals in time.

Those concerned with Russian make a similar division within stative verbs (see Thelin 1978: 73-75; Leinonen 1982: 84-86). Though statives in Russian are found most naturally in the imperfective, the fact that certain

so-called statives (e.g., "lezhat'", "stojat'", "sidet'", "viset'", "spat'") may be perfectivized, while most others (e.g., "znat'", "videt'", "sostojat'", "sushchestvovat'") may not, is seen as the main reason for making finer semantic distinctions within the verb group. Thelin, for example, proposes a special class of stative verbs called "stactives". These verbs differ from genuine statives in that they involve an activity component which is subject to volitional control. Evidence of the volitional control element is found in the fact that stactives, unlike most statives, are compatible with the imperative. Note, however, that there are varying degrees of volitionality, since some stactives normally occur only in the negative imperative, where the subject is either supposed to "prevent the initiation of the state" or make it cease (Thelin 1978: 74). The prime examples of this are verbs expressing emotional state (e.g., "grustit'", "serdit'sja", "bespokoit'sja", "bojat'sja"), as well as those expressing physical/mental states (e.g., "bolet'", "golodat'", "nervnichat'"). Where a stactive can be used in both imperative forms, the subject is supposed to be able to enter into and/or continue the state as well. However, as Leinonen (1982: 85) points out, the imperative test can be somewhat "precarious", since some verbs "may be used in slightly different senses" when in the imperative. For example, "znaj!" means "take into account" or "I'll have you know that...".

In any case, the presence or absence of volitional control appears to be the criterion by which stative verbs in Russian are further divided into two groups. As we shall see later, this semantic division is reflected in the ability of various statives to be perfectivized.

As a final note, we should mention that for English, it is the progressive meaning, rather than volitionality, which is relevant to the division within statives, since we can say either "The book is lying on the couch" or "John is lying on the couch".

Achievements

While Vendler is obviously correct in postulating achievements as a distinct verb category, his decision to group them together with states, based on the fact that neither verb type admits the progressive, as mentioned above, is objected to by a number of authors (see Mourelatos 1978, Freed 1979, Kuchera 1983) who note that many so-called achievements actually do occur in the progressive:

He is falling asleep.
They are crossing the border.
She is dying.

Examples such as these not only bring into question Vendler's claim of a state-achievement "genus", but also make it much harder to define what an achievement is and determine exactly which verbs are achievements and which are not.

Freed (1979) has no trouble accepting the existence of achievements as an independent semantic category. She reasons that like accomplishments, achievements cannot be said to have occurred "until after they have actually taken place" but unlike accomplishments "they cannot be described as taking place prior to their completion." (Freed 1979: 51). However, that a number of so-called achievements do in fact occur in the progressive and seem to "take time" (e.g., fall asleep, freeze, die) suggests to Freed that we must either accept the division of achievements into two subgroups - "sharp" and "gradual" - as proposed by Dillon (1977), or consider "gradual" achievements (i.e., those which can occur in the progressive) to be activities [accomplishments-M.M.] improperly classified as achievements.

Other authors also grapple with the problem of achievements which can occur in the progressive. Using as an example the sentence "John is dying," Comrie (1976: 47-48) proposes that these types of achievements be formed into a new class of situations which refer to "a punctual event and the immediately preceding process," where the process is so intimately bound up with the event that once it is under way "the event cannot be prevented from occurring." Lyons (1977: p. 712) suggests that most of these occurrences can be accounted for by the fact that certain types of achievements are "frequently associated with particular kinds of activity whose successful

performance results in the achievement." Thus, it is this related activity which is being referred to when an achievement is used in the progressive, not the achievement itself. For example, while "John is winning" might be taken to mean "John is performing in such a way that he is likely to win," it certainly cannot mean "John is in the process of winning." Though we might suggest the same sort of solution for "dying" and "falling asleep", there are still difficult cases like "crossing the border". Different again is the iterative reading of "He is (always) forgetting something or other" or "The lightning is flashing," the conative reading of "He was leaving his home town", and the so-called praesens propheticum interpretation of "He is arriving today at the station".

Much of the dilemma over the occurence of achievements in the progressive ending has to do, it seems, with a failure on the part of some authors to realize that the -ing ending, like aspect in Russian, does not necessarily denote only an objective property of the action in question. That is, the progressive ending is a grammatical marker with an abstract meaning which the speaker can use subjectively to present an action in a way in which it would not, prototypically, occur. Thus, to ponder endlessly over what it is about an achievement in reality that is coded by the progressive ending misses the point: the -ing ending is able to present an achievement

in a way which does not correspond to its most typical occurrence in reality.

As with the historical development of aspectual endings in Russian, the progressive ending probably took on different meanings as it was applied to more and more verbs of various semantic types. As this happened, the "common denominator" meaning of the -ing ending continually changed, becoming more abstract. Meanwhile, the "true" progressive meaning became one of a number of particular meanings, though perhaps the most commonly encountered one associated with the -ing inflection. What must still be explained, of course, is why it is that certain achievements cannot be used in the progressive at all, even in the subjective way explained above.

In any event, we see that the possible division of achievements into two groups is certainly debatable. The relevance of such a distinction to Russian might also be debatable given the fact that the whole controversy stems from the use of the English progressive. We shall see later whether any of this manifests itself at all in the Russian aspectual system.

As for the classification of achievements and states together as non-processes, we will simply acknowledge that there are arguments both for and against such an approach. Within the framework of Russian aspect, however, it might be wiser (as will be shown later) to consider grouping

achievements together with accomplishments based on the fact that both involve a particular change of state. Mourelatos (1978), for example, sees achievements and accomplishments as two sub-species of a single "performance" category. He provides three pieces of evidence to support his claim:

1) Both verb types involve a "product, upshot, or outcome."

2) An accomplishment contains a closely related end-point achievement. For example, one cannot say "I wrote the letter" if he cannot say "I finished the letter."

3) One can say of both verb types that, "It took N T's to V", where "N is a count expression and T is a unit of time."

The third test, which is intended to show that both accomplishments and achievements "'take' time, indeed definite time," is somewhat deceiving when applied to many achievements since it does not necessarily have as a consequence "X V-ed for N T's". Freed (1979) provides the following example in this respect:

> "It took Barbara ten minutes to find her keys" does not have as a consequence "*Barbara found her keys for ten minutes". Instead it has as a consequence "Barbara found her keys after looking for them for ten minutes". The successful culmination of 'looking for something' is 'finding it'. The latter is an achievement term.

The weakness of the third test leads back to the dilemma over how to define the achievement category and

determine exactly which verbs comprise it. What concerns us at the moment, however, is that achievements and accomplishments have in common that both involve a change of state, that neither can be said to have occurred "until after they have actually taken place" (Freed 1979: 51).

Agentiveness

One further refinement which can be made to the Vendlerian scheme is the division of each verb category into an agentive and non-agentive sub-type. Dowty uses the following syntactic tests to determine the agentiveness of a given verb:

1. Ability to occur in imperatives (cf., Thelin's and Leinonen's treatment of stactives and volitionality on pp. 45-47 of this thesis):

*Know the answer!
Be polite!

*Lie there! (i.e., remain lying) (said to a book on a shelf)
Lie there! (i.e., remain lying) (said to a person)

*Roll! (said to a ball)
Run! (said to a person)

*Go down! (said to the sun)
Write a letter!

*Recognize him!
Leave tomorrow!

2. Ability to occur in the agentive context "persuade x to V":

*John persuaded me to know the answer.
John persuaded me to be polite.

*John persuaded the book to lie (remain lying) on the table.
John persuaded me to just lie on the couch.

*John persuaded the ball to roll.
John persuaded me to run.

*John persuaded the sun to go down.
John persuaded me to write a letter.

*John persuaded me to recognize him.
John persuaded me to leave.

3. Ability to occur in the agentive context "do V deliberately":

*John deliberately knew the answer.
John was deliberately being polite.

*The book was deliberately lying there.
John was deliberately lying on the couch.

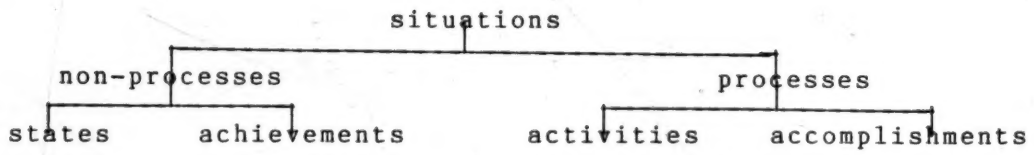
*The ball was rolling deliberately.
John deliberately ran.

*The sun deliberately went down.
John deliberately wrote a letter.

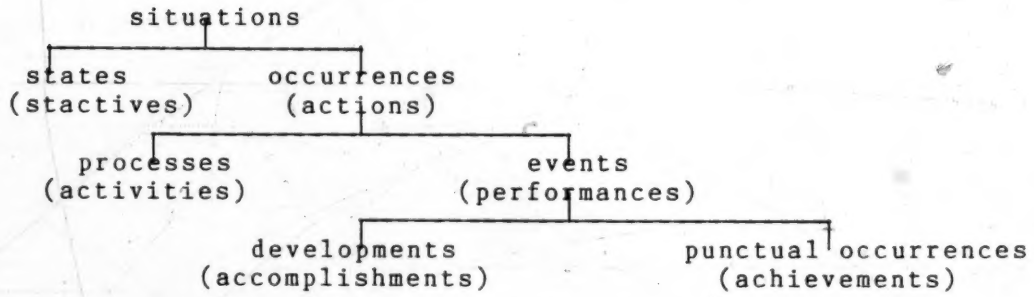
*John deliberately recognized me.
John left deliberately.

Borrowing the terminology used by Mourelatos (1978: 422-424) in differentiating betweeen agentive and "topic-neutral" situations, and incorporating this together with most of the modifications we have made thus far to the basic Vendlerian scheme, let us compare the original Vendlerian version to our modified one:

Vendler's scheme



Modified scheme
(N.B., agentive terms in brackets)



Note that the term "occurrence"/"action" is used to encompass all non-stative verb types, while the term "event"/ "performance" represents change-of-state occurrences as opposed to "processes"/ "activities" which do not denote a change of state.

C. Telicity schemata.

The notion of telicity ("predel'nost'" in Russian) forms the basis of an alternative approach to verb classification. This semantic property divides verbs into two groups, telic and atelic ("predel'nye" and "nepredel'nye"). In very general terms, telic situations are said to be goal-directed, while atelic ones lack this

feature. Thus, for example, in "Ivan stroil/postroil dom", the action is goal-directed since it would, if allowed to continue, result in the coming into existence of a house. In "Ivan stojal na uglu", however, the action in question is undoubtedly atelic, since the subject's action is not directed towards any sort of a goal.

Sheljakin (1975; 1978) adapts to Russian a definition of telicity originally developed by A.A. Xolodovich (1963) in the context of Japanese and Korean. Xolodovich assumes that almost any situation - telic or atelic - will eventually come to an end, resulting in the transition of a given verb argument (i.e., subject or object) from one state to another. However, one can distinguish telic situations from atelic ones by comparing the predictability of this change of state for each verb type. With telic situations, the resulting change of state is predetermined in the meaning of the verb (or verb phrase) itself, while with atelic ones this can be determined only by pragmatic knowledge. In "Ivan stroil/postroil dom", for example, the change of state (from "no house" to "existence of a house") is implicit in the verb's meaning. However, in "Ivan stoit/stojal na uglu" only pragmatic knowledge may determine whether the cessation of John's standing will be followed, for example, by his walking away, fainting, or jumping up and down on the spot.

Having examined Xolodovich's definition of telicity, Sheljakin concludes that telic verbs have to do with an

action's development towards its inherent boundary (vnutrennij predel). This boundary, as we have seen, represents the transition from one state to another. Atelic verbs, on the other hand, denote actions which may continue indefinitely, but do not evolve towards any predetermined boundary or goal (Sheljakin 1978: 43-47).

The view of telicity provided by Thelin (1978: 85-91) distinguishes three main verb groups: those which are always telic (i.e., terminative) (+TERM), those which are neutral in respect to telicity (+/-TERM), and those which are always atelic (i.e., aterminative) (-TERM). It is the group of +/-TERM verbs (e.g., "chitat'", "pisat'", "idti", "stroit'") which makes Thelin's approach to telicity different from that of Sheljakin. These verbs are claimed to be neutral in respect to telicity due to the fact that they may be interpreted as either telic or atelic, depending on the presence or absence of certain perfectivizing prefixes. It is, in fact, Thelin's contention that with +/-TERM verbs telicity can be conveyed by prefixation alone. This line of thinking, in our opinion, is incorrect. Clearly, the telicization of a verb such as "pisat'" comes about only through the addition of a direct object. Once this has occurred, a prefix such as "na-" and "pere-" may then be added, rendering (in this case) "napisat'" and "perepisat'":

On pisal

*On napisal

but

On pisal pis'mo
On napisal pis'mo

Thelin does not consider all prefixes to cause +/- TERM verbs to become telic. When the delimitative prefix "po-" is added to "pisat'", the resulting verb "popisat'" ('write for a while', 'do a bit of writing') is atelic in nature. Here, at least, we are in agreement with Thelin.

The above objections to Thelin's treatment of "telically ambiguous" verbs such as "pisat'" serves as a convenient point of departure to our upcoming discussion of the role played by the presence and nature of a verb's arguments in determining its telicity. Before doing this, however, we will finish off the present section with an attempt to tie together the Vendlerian and Telicity schemata.

Superimposing one scheme over the other turns out to be a much simpler matter than one might at first expect. If we compare Sheljakin's "inherent boundary" definition of telicity to the notion of a "product, upshot, or outcome" suggested by Mourelatos as the feature shared by both accomplishments and achievements, we see that what is common to all cases is a change of state which takes place in the verb's subject or object. Unfortunately, not everyone agrees that both accomplishments and achievements denote telic situations. Comrie (1976: 44-47) considers

only accomplishments to be telic, reasoning that there must be "both a process leading up to the terminal point as well as the terminal point." Because most achievements lack the process component, they are disqualified from Comrie's definition of telicity, though he admits that there are some difficult cases (cf., the controversy over achievements in the progressive). It seems that Comrie's insistance on a process component might have something to do with agentiveness as an element in telicity, though Comrie never really explains why the process component is so essential. In any event, we will consider both accomplishments and achievements, rather than accomplishments only, to be telic because the "change of state" component seems to be much more a feature of goal-directed actions than does the "process" meaning.

We have already seen that certain authors consider some verbs to be unstable with respect to their semantic classification. It is towards such contextual modification and its concomitant affect on aspect that the next chapters will be devoted.

IV. CATEGORY SHIFTS.

A. Aspect as a modifier of verb class.

Mourelatos (1978)

Taking Vendler's basic verb categories as a starting point, Mourelatos states that whereas the same English verb form, e.g., "sang", can have an activity meaning in one context and an accomplishment meaning in another, Russian requires that the two senses be shown as distinct through use of the aspectual marker: thus "pel" for the activity context "He sang for hours", but "spel" for the accomplishment context "He sang the International" (Mourelatos 1978: 418).

For Mourelatos, aspect is one of several means of assigning a verb to one or another of the traditional Vendlerian categories activity - accomplishment - achievement - state. In all, a total of six factors are involved in verb classification: (a) the verb's inherent meaning; (b) the nature of the verb's arguments, i.e., of the subject and of the object(s), if any; (c) adverbials, if any; (d) aspect; (e) tense as phase, e.g., the perfect; (f) tense as time reference to past, present, future. According to Mourelatos (1978: 421), while Vendler "sought to classify verb types by noticing selections and restrictions that factors (b), (c), and (e) together with (f) exercise on candidate verbs", he did not notice the

heavy role played by factor (d).

Brecht (manuscript): telicization and atelicization.

For Brecht (216), the perfectivization of imperfective verbs, called "telicization", is a modification of a given situation by the speaker resulting in the transformation of this situation from an atelic into a telic one. For example, the activities 'eating' and 'drinking' can be transformed into achievements by focusing on the absolute final stage of the situation using prefixation. Thus, the addition of prefixes to the basic imperfectives 'est'' and 'pit'', rendering 's"est'' and 'vypit'', transforms these situations from atelic into telic ones.

In addition to these examples of "empty" prefixation (or at least prefixation involving minimal semantic modification), Brecht also deals with instances of "lexical" and "sub-lexical" prefixation. Here again, the addition of a prefix alters the nature of a situation from "inherently atelic to telic by transforming an indefinite State or Activity into an Achievement or Culmination [i.e., accomplishment - M. M.]."

Complementing the basically lexical process of telicization, Russian has at its disposal the opposite shift of telic situations into atelic ones, or "atelicization". This process - commonly referred to as secondary imperfectivization - is accomplished primarily

by adding to a perfective verb the imperfective /(-i-v-)-aj-/ suffix. The addition of this suffix forces the meaning of 'no-statement-of-completion' upon the notion of telicity inherent in a perfective verb predicate. This results in the "grammaticalized atelicization" of a given situation, or more precisely the grammaticalized representation of a basically telic situation as atelic.

To summarize, atelicization presents a telic situation with the focus on its atelic component. That is, there is a shift to viewing a telic situation atelically. This is to be contrasted with telicization where the perfective aspect is merely an "automatic concomitant of the newly conceived telic situation." (Brecht: 219).

That both Mourelatos and Brecht see aspect as a means of changing, or at least signalling a change in, verb type is not all that surprising given the fact that there is a strong tendency for telic actions to be denoted by the perfective and atelic ones by the imperfective. However, such a correlation is only a tendency, and it must therefore be stressed, as we will see later, that there is no one-to-one correspondence of aspectual form to verb type.

Brecht's main weakness lies in his insistance that the perfectivization of an imperfective verb causes it to

become telic. In particular, just as did Thelin in his analysis of telicity, Brecht seems to ignore the role played by the presence and nature of a direct object in determining the class to which a verb belongs and the influence that this in turn has on determining whether a verb may or may not be perfectivized. For example, in order for the verb "est'" to be perfectivized via prefixation, it must first be made telic by the addition of a direct object as the following examples show:

*segodnja ja s"el.
segodnja ja s"el kusok syra.

Brecht, however, makes no mention of a direct object when he claims that it is the addition the perfectivizing prefix "s-" which telicizes "est'".

Brecht also fails to realize that there are a number of prefixed perfectives which remain atelic no matter what. The best examples of this are verbs in the so-called delimitative and perdurative Aktionsarten (e.g., pochitat', poguljat'). Brecht himself wrongly cites the verb "pokurit'" as an example of the telicization of "kurit'".

Brecht's treatment of secondary imperfectivization is essentially correct in that he considers it to be a shift to <u>viewing</u> a telic situation atelically. Unfortunately, because of his very narrow conception of what constitutes a grammatical category, only verb pairs based on secondary imperfectivization give the speaker a means of viewing the

same real-world event in two different ways. All other imperfective - perfective pairs, in his analysis, serve to semantically oppose an atelic verb to a telic one.

While Mourelatos goes further than Brecht in recognizing the roles played by various factors in determining a verb's inherent semantic classification, he, like Brecht, is incorrect in claiming that aspect is one of these factors. For instance, in the following examples, Mourelatos claims that aspectual marking "overrides", as it were, the presence of a verb object, so that the semantic class to which the verb in either sentence belongs is determined solely on the basis of the ending in question:

John ran/ has run a mile.
John was running a mile.

Thus, in these examples, simple past = accomplishment, while past progressive = activity. For Mourelatos, the presence of a verb object plays no role in either case. It is our opinion that, largely because of the presence of the verb object, both examples are accomplishments, and that the aspectual endings <u>serve to give a different aspectual view of what is, in reality, the same situation</u>.

There are, as we shall see, other factors which have a much clearer impact on the verb's semantic categorization.

B. Verb complements as modifiers of verb class.

If we add a direct object or a phrase denoting destination (in the case of verbs of motion) to each of the activities

John was drawing/drew.
John was running/ran.

rendering the sentences

John was drawing/drew a circle.
John was running/ran to school.

we notice that the newly formed sentences no longer meet the criteria for activities (e.g., "John was drawing a circle" does <u>not</u> entail that John drew a circle. As well, "John was drawing a circle for an hour" sounds odd). Instead, the new sentences behave like accomplishments:

John drew a circle in five minutes
John ran to school in half an hour.

It seems, then, that the addition of a direct object (or destination phrase) to what was originally an activity verb has the effect of incorporating into the verbal notion a terminus towards which the newly-formed accomplishment is said to proceed. This observation, in turn, leads us to the conclusion that the whole verb phrase (VP) must be taken into account when distinguishing between activities and accomplishments. We should note that while Vendler was certainly aware of this fact, he did not explicity deal with it.

Unfortunately, distinguishing between activities and accomplishments is not as simple a matter as noting the

presence or absence of a direct object or a destination phrase. First of all, examples of activites which take direct objects are not hard to find: "push a cart", "carry a parcel", and "drive a car" are all activities. Furthermore, given an appropriate extra-linguistic context, a sentence which would normally be seen as an activity can instead receive an accomplishment interpretation (see Dowty 1979: 61; Heinamaki 1977: 72; Comrie 1976: 45-46). Comrie illustrates this point well:

> Imagine, for instance, a singing class where each of the pupils is required to sing a certain set passage; then the verb "sing" on its own, in this context, may be taken to mean 'sing the set passage', so that from "John is singing" it will not follow that "John has sung."

Sheljakin (1978: 54-55) makes a similar observation regarding the decisive role played by pragmatics in determining whether a given Russian verb is to be interpreted as telic or atelic. Particularly with verbs denoting the exchange of thoughts or information (e.g., besedovat', govorit', razgovarivat', sovetovat', sporit') the classification of one and the same verb form depends largely on whether or not the action it denotes is judged to be goal-directed. If, for example, the purpose of an action is to obtain someone's opinion or advice, then the verb is seen as telic. If, on the other hand, an action is thought to be carried out for no particular reason, then it is seen as atelic.

Taking into account all that has been said so far, it

is not at all difficult to believe Dowty's claim that he has been unable to find "a single activity verb which cannot have an accomplishment sense in at least some special context" (Dowty 1979: 61). In agreeing with Dowty we do not, however, invalidate the semantic distinction which must be made between activities and accomplishments (or alternatively, between atelic and telic situations). All this means is that a) the whole predication must be taken into account in determining the verb classification and that, even then, b) pragmatic features might further contribute to clarify this classification. Let us examine further some of these additional criteria.

Indefinite plurals and mass nouns as direct object.

If we examine the following sentences, all of which contain a direct object, we notice that the nature of the object seems to have a peculiar influence on how the verb in each sentence is interpreted (as an activity or accomplishment; or telic or atelic):

(a) John wrote a letter in an hour.
(b) *John wrote letters in an hour. (except as habitual)
(c) John wrote letters for an hour.

(a) John drank the glass of beer in twenty minutes.
(b) *John drank beer in twenty minutes. (except as habitual)
(c) John drank beer for twenty minutes.

The above examples exemplify the effect of the direct object's referential properties on the reading of a verb. Where the direct object is a singular count noun (definite

or indefinite) the verb in question behaves like an accomplishment. However, where we are dealing with an indefinite plural or mass noun as direct object, the verb must receive an activity interpretation, since it fails to meet the accomplishment criterion (as (b) shows) but meets one of the requirements for an activity (as shown by (c)).

C. Verkuyl: The interaction of VP constituents.

The picture we have painted so far illustrates that, while the division between activities/ atelic verbs and accomplishments/ telic verbs is anything but fixed, the means by which a verb's complements alter its interpretation (and hence classification) are at least relatively systematic. In order to form a more complete picture of a verb's interaction with its complements, let us briefly summarize what has been done by Verkuyl (1972) in this area. Verkuyl argues that the so-called durative (=aterminative) and nondurative (=terminative) aspects are not manifested in the verb alone (or in any other single surface structure constituent). Instead, these aspectual notions reveal themselves via the composition of a number of categories: "Aspects are of a compositional nature... they are not semantic primitives" (Verkuyl 1972: 66).

One of Verkuyl's main goals is to find a single underlying principle which might account for the aspectual character of sentences containing:

a. a verb plus noun phrase (NP) (e.g., John ate <u>a</u>

sandwich; John ate sandwiches (for hours))

b. a verb plus directional phrase (e.g., John walked to the beach)

c. a verb plus quantifying complement (e.g., John walked a mile;)

Let us look more closely at each VP type (based on Verkuyl 1972: 40-97):

Verb plus NP.

Consider the following sentences:

(a) John ate a sandwich in ten minutes
John ate the sandwich in ten minutes
John ate five sandwiches in ten minutes
John ate all the sandwiches in ten minutes
(b) *John ate sandwiches in ten minutes
but
John ate sandwiches for ten minutes

(a) John drank the glass of beer in ten minutes
John drank five glasses of beer in ten minutes
John drank all the beer in ten minutes
(b) *John drank beer in ten minutes
but
John drank beer for ten minutes

According to Verkuyl, the difference between the accomplishment sentences (a) and the activity sentences (b) can be accounted for in terms of whether the direct object NP refers to a SPECIFIED or an UNSPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X. If the quantity of 'X' is specified, then the VP (or the verb within that VP) is an accomplishment. If, however, the quantity of 'X' is unspecified (as in the (b) sentences where the direct object is an indefinite plural or mass noun) we are dealing with an activity. Verkuyl

represents the activity and accomplishment VPs respectively in the following manner:

$$VP[_V[\text{VERB}]_V + {}_{NP}[\text{UNSPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X}]_{NP}]_{VP}$$

$$VP[_V[\text{VERB}]_V + {}_{NP}[\text{SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X}]_{NP}]_{VP}$$

Verb plus directional phrase or quantifying complement.

Consider the following sentences:

(a)(i) *John walked to the beach for hours
(ii) *John walked a mile for hours

(i) John walked to the beach in a hour
(ii) John walked a mile in an hour

(b) John walked for hours

Verbs of motion which take quantifying complements like "a mile" (as in (a)(ii)) are analyzed by Verkuyl as follows:

$$VP[_V[\text{MOVEMENT}]_V + {}_{QC}[\text{SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF DISTANCE MEASURING UNITS}]_{QC}]_{VP}$$

where QC stands for 'quantifying complement'. The behavior of the sentences in (a)(ii) shows that we are dealing with accomplishment VPs. As for verbs of motion taking directional phrases (see (a)(i)), Verkuyl proposes that they be analyzed in the same manner. He justifies this approach by pointing out that movement verbs in general can take either type of complement. Getting somewhere, after all, necessarily involves covering a specific distance measured in one dimensional units. The activity VP in (b), on the other hand, is analyzed in the

following manner:

$$VP[V[\text{MOVEMENT}]_V + QC[\text{UNSPECIFIED QUANTITY OF DISTANCE MEASURING UNITS}]_{QC}]_{VP}$$

Verkuyl (96) concludes that for the three types of VPs discussed so far, the general scheme underlying the composition of the durative (=atelic) and nondurative (=telic) aspects respectively is as follows:

$$VP[V[\text{VERB}]_V + NP[\text{UNSPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X}]_{NP}]_{VP}$$
$$VP[V[\text{VERB}]_V + NP[\text{SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X}]_{NP}]_{VP}$$

Put in more prosaic terms, "a certain fundamental subcategory of an underlying V is combined with a complex set of categories of a nominal nature and pertaining to quantity." These formulae apply equally well to Russian since they deal with the basic semantic properties of verbs in general.

To this point we have been discussing the syntactic means of "converting" activities into accomplishments (and vice versa). However, as Dowty (1979: 63) points out, much of what has been said so far applies to achievements as well. Consider, for example, the following sentences (taken from Dowty 1979: 63):

*John discoverved the buried treasure in his back yard for six weeks

John discovered crabgrass/ mushrooms in his back yard for six weeks.

We see from these examples that where the direct object is a singular count, the achievement verb "discover" behaves as it should in disallowing the durative adverbial "for six weeks". However, with indefinite plurals or mass nouns, a durative adverbial is permissable. Just as significant is the effect of the verb's subject:

*John discovered that quaint little village for years
Tourists discovered that quaint little village for years

*A gallon of water leaked through my ceiling for six months
Water leaked through my ceiling for six months

As with object NPs, an indefinite plural or mass noun as subject allows a durative adverbial to be used. As a more general principle, one might say of achievements that where either the subject or object NP denotes an UNSPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X, the sentence in question is said to have the properties of an activity (Verkuyl 1972: 100-105; Dowty 1979: 63). Of course, where both NPs express a SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X, we are in fact dealing with an achievement sentence. Again, the principal is a universal one which would apply to Russian as well, as corresponding translations of any of the above sentences easily show.

Let us finish off our discussion of Verkuyl's theories by considering one potential argument against him. It is possible to criticize Verkuyl's approach by

pointing out that he has dealt with only a few of the many factors which may become involved in altering a verb's interpretation. This particular line of criticism would be unfair, however, given the fact that the number of factors to be reckoned with is overwhelming. For example, the inherent meaning of the "basic" verb, the presence and nature of the verb's arguments, adverbials, phase (e.g., the perfect), and tense are all suggested by Mourelatos (1978: 421) as potentially contributing to a verb's classification. Other factors might include extra-linguistic context and, in the case of transitive verbs, the type of transitivity (affective vs. effective). Moreover, the number of ways in which these factors might combine and work restrictions on one another would be prohibitively great. For our purposes, then, Verkuyl's study will serve at least to represent some of the most typical effects that constituents might have on a verb's semantic interpretation.

D. Verb classification: Concluding remarks

Up to this point we have been using the terms "verb type", "VP type", "situation type", and "sentence type" in a rather inconsistent fashion. Even if we agree that it is a combination of factors which determines the classification of a "verbal notion", there still remains the question of whether it is the verb within its context that is being classified, or whether we are, in fact, classifying the context itself (verb and all). The

problem, then, is one of exactly what "the purported [semantic] properties be regarded as properties of," as Dahl (1981: 83) puts it.

Unfortunately, this problem runs deeper than one might at first suppose. While the above discussion concerns the question of which surface form(s) are actually being classified, there is also the problem of what it is that these forms in fact denote. Just as one and the same "scene" can be described either as John's selling of a book to Mary or as Mary's purchasing of a book from John (Saurer 1984: 14-15), so can we describe a scene involving John sitting at his desk in either of the two following ways (from Dahl 1981: 83):

John is writing

John is writing a letter

where the first description is an activity (atelic) and the second an accomplishment (telic). From this we must conclude (as does Saurer 1984: 15) that the semantic properties developed thus far do not classify <u>situations</u> denoted by a verb (or VP, etc.), but rather <u>descriptions of situations</u>. To quote Dahl (1981: 83):

> ...the T property [telicity] cannot be a property of a situation or process per se: It comes only as the result of describing the situation, that is, subsuming it under a concept of a situation (process), or in existential terms, under a class of situations (processes).

Thus, a verb, verb phrase, or sentence is said to be telic (or atelic) if it expresses a concept which has the

properties in question.

In the last two chapters, we have attempted to place verbs, or the concepts denoted by verbs, into distinct categories. Along the way it has become apparent that we must often consider more than just the verb in making our classifications. Though many of the possible factors involved in classification have been mentioned only in passing, we have looked in some detail at the role played by the presence and nature of a verb's arguments. In particular, we have noted the synactic means by which an activity is "transformed" into an accomplishment (namely, by the presence of a direct object/ directional phrase denoting a SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X) and how an accomplishment can be converted into an activity (by the presence of a direct object or directional phrase denoting an UNSPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X). Given the fact that the uniaspectuality in Russian is to a large degree a function of verb type, it is hoped that the recognition of the variety of factors involved in verb classification will provide a slightly different perspective from which to view uniaspectuality.

As a final note, we should make some attempt to explain the fact that within each verb category there exist both the "classic cases" - those verbs which undoubtedly belong to the category in question, as well as

a number of "difficult cases" which seem to straddle the line between two categories, possessing properties of both. Not surprisingly, these borderline cases have been the centre of much controversy (cf., the dilemma over statives having an activity component (stactives), as well as our discussion of achievements which behave like accomplishments). These areas of overlap existing between verb categories can, perhaps, be explained by Givon's (1984: 11-17) discussion of semantic and grammatical categories in general. According to Givon, a category is defined in terms of those members which have the greatest number of important characteristic properties. These "most typical" members of a category are termed its "prototype". The degree of prototypicality of other members is measured in terms of how many of the important characteristic features they may have. Thus, there is a clustering of members around the prototype, whereby "the majority - however large - of the membership can be found within a reasonable, well-defined distance." It would seem, then, that the area of overlap between two categories A and B consists of members which have a relatively low degree of prototypicality in relation to either the A or B prototypes. This, of course, would be the area in which we find the above-mentioned controversial cases of verb classification.

Despite the "fuzzy-edged" nature of categories, the fact remains that "there is indeed a great measure of

categoriality in human language" (Givon 1984: 14). Evidence of the fact that verbs, verb phrases, etc., polarize into classes is provided not only by the various co-occurrence rules and logical entailments that a native speaker intuitively knows to be true or false in a given instance, but also, as we are about to see, in the behavior of various verb types in relation to the grammatical category of aspect. Whether the controversial cases of verb classification translate as well into controversy of any sort with respect to Russian aspect shall also be dealt with in the following chapter.

V. CONCLUSIONS.

Vendler's attempt to classify verbs according to the way in which they interact with certain time adverbials and tense forms has, as we have seen, been subjected to a great deal of discussion in Western linguistics concerning possible modifications to the basic stative-activity-accomplishment- achievement scheme. Though a number of authors have sought to make finer distinctions within each of these verb types, some of the most important improvements to Vendler's scheme have come about at the hands of those who understood the necessity of considering more than just the verb itself in classifying verbal notions. What Vendler et al. were probably not aware of, however, was the fact that Slavic aspectologists (e.g., Stang 1942; Maslov 1948; 1958; 1973; Sheljakin 1978; Gurevich 1979, etc.) had long been concerned with the temporal qualities of verbs and the grouping of verbs together as "sposoby dejstvija". While these Slavicists were not nearly as rigorous as Western linguists in their approach to verb classification, it seems that both "schools" were in essence concerned with what we might call the temporal "shape" of an action in reality, that is, the way in which an action proceeds in time - whether it is telic or atelic, durative or punctual, stative or dynamic, a process or a non-process, etc.. Though various terms have been applied to the

classification of verbs along these lines (e.g., verb class, verb type, semantic-aspectual type, Aktionsart, sposob dejstvija, or aspectuality), it turns out that all these terms refer to what is, in fact, one and the same notion.

There is, however, one essential difference between the Western and Eastern approaches to aspectuality. While Western linguists have mostly concerned themselves with making continual refinements to the basic Vendlerian scheme, Slavic aspectologists have gone beyond verb classification in attempting to determine the nature of the relationship between the semantic-aspectual character of verbs and the grammatical category of aspect. It is our opinion that the search for this relationship could be greatly enhanced by utilizing the much more thorough and systematic approach to verb classification developed in the West. In particular, a new insight into aspectual (non)pairedness in Russian might be gained by taking into consideration the necessity of classifying not the verb alone, but the context within which the verb occurs.

The area of (non)pairedness in Russian aspectology has enjoyed a great deal of attention over the past several decades, both from a purely morphological, as well as from a more semantic-based point of view. In most of the research that has been done in this area, there is a generally agreed-upon core of unpaired imperfectives, all

of which are pure statives (e.g., "sostojat'", "prinadlezhat'", "sushchestvovat'", "imet'", "znachit'", "naxodit'sja", etc.), as well as a small group of undisputed uniaspectual perfectives, most of which are very punctual in nature (e.g., "ochnut'sja", "polosnut'", "xlynut'", "grjanut'", "ruxnut'", "opomnit'sja", etc.). The vast majority of aspectologists also agree on which verbs undoubtedly occur as aspectual pairs. While this last group is comprised mainly of accomplishments (e.g., "(po)stroit' chto-to", "(na)pisat' chto-to", "pokupat'/kupit' chto-to", "(vy)pit' chto-to", etc.), many of Vendler's so-called achievements are also used in both aspects (e.g., "(po)terjat' chto-to", "naxodit'/najti chto-to", "prixodit'/prijti", "uznavat'/uznat' kogo-to", "umirat'/umeret'", etc.).

Unfortunately, the line between those verbs which are paired and those which are not becomes fuzzy when we consider the status of activities ("guljat'", "rabotat'", "plakat'") and stactives ("lezhat'", "stojat'", "sidet'", "viset'", "spat'"). Though there are a few scholars who feel that these verb types form aspectual pairs (Leinonen 1982, Thelin 1978), usually via delimitative or perdurative prefixation, the vast majority hold to the view that activities and stactives are uniaspectual imperfectives (see Forsyth 1970: 54-56; Gurevich 1979: 85; Sheljakin 1978: 53-62; Maslov 1948: 306-310). In fact, for these authors, all atelic verbs are basically

uniaspectual. That the definitions of aspect employed by these scholars forces them into classifying stactives and activities as uniaspectual has much to do with the dilemma at hand. For example, while Sheljakin (1978: 53-54) defines the perfective as expressing the totality of an action, he stipulates that if this totality is not inherent in the meaning of the verb itself - as is the case with atelics - then the perfective form in question is not a grammatical variant of the imperfective stem from which it was derivied, but rather is a newly derived word. This, of course, means that all atelic verbs - including stactives and activities - are going to be uniaspectual, since any perfective formed from them will be considered a case of word-derivation. For example, because the notion of totality associated with "poguljat'" or "posidet'" is derived from the imposition of quantitative temporal limits on the verbal notion in question rather than any sort of limits inherent in the action itself, these forms are claimed by Sheljakin to be instances of word derivation. Thus "guljat'" and "sidet'" are unispectually imperfective. There is a certain circularity in argumentation like this which first excludes the perfective forms of stactives and activities from the definition of aspect, then turns around and says that these verb types are uniaspectual imperfectives because the perfectives derived from them do not meet the definition of aspect.

It is not surprising, then, that those scholars who formulate their definitions of aspect on a broader class of pairs, and who take into account the discourse functions of aspect as well, are also the ones who view activities and stactives as aspectually paired. Leiononen's definition of the perfective as "inherently located on the time line" is in no way incompatible with the meaning and function of perfectives such as "posidet'" or "popisat'": "On prishel domoj, posidel/popisal, potom poshel v kino."

The historical view of aspect provided in the first chapter also lends support to our contention that activities and stactives are to be considered aspectually paired. Aspect, as we have seen, was a category which started out as a grammatical opposition whose meanings at first closely matched the aspectualities inherent in the verbs which they encompassed. However, as the category extended itself to new verb types, its meaning became more abstract. Thus, we should not be surprised by the fact that the perfective aspect has extended itself to activities and stactives as well, rendering an opposition whose meaning is necessarily more abstract than before, and having even less a connection with the semantic features of the verb itself.

While the above problems stem from deficiencies in the definitions of aspect used by some scholars, another

serious shortcoming in most treatments of (non)pairedness in Russian has to do with the rather superficial approach taken my most aspectologists to the classification of verbs. It is here that the study of aspectual pairedness could benifit immensely from the more rigorous treatment of verb classification offerred by Western linguists. As we have seen earlier, most verbs which are prototypically accomplishments (e.g., "shit' chto-to", "pisat' chto-to", "chitat' chto-to", "igrat' chto-to") can, depending on the context in which the occur, be seen as activities. In the previous chapter we provided explicit examples of the role played by pragmatics (cf. p. 65), the nature of the subject (cf. p. 71), as well as the presence and nature of the verb's object (cf. pp. 66-71). In examining these various factors, it became apparent that to talk of classification in terms of the verb alone is insufficient. Aspectuality has to be defined for the whole sentence.

Thus, while each verb might have its most "prototypical" interpretation - that is, an interpretation based on the context in which it most typically appears - to classify that verb soley in terms of its prototypical semantic-aspectual meaning would be incorrect. Let us take as an example the verb "pisat'", which in its most frequent interpretation is an accomplishment: "pisat' chto-to". As we have seen now many times, the syntactic environment in which a verb appears is crucial in shifting the verb from its prototypical usage to a different one.

Thus, the deletion of the object or the non-specification of the "quantity of 'x' it denotes leave us with what is now an activity verb: On pisal pis'mo > On pisal pis'ma > On pisal (He was writing a letter > He was writing letters > He was writing). As a result of these substantial variations in meaning exhibited by the verb "pisat'" from context to context, we might formulate a scheme such as the following, which defines the semantic-aspectual nature of "to write" according to all its contextual variants:

pisat'$_1$- pisat' + specified quantity of 'X'.
= accomplishment

pisat'$_2$- pisat' + unspecified quantity of 'X'.
= activity

pisat'$_3$- pisat'.
= activity

If we now turn our attention back to aspectual (non)pairedness in Russian, we see that the general practice among aspectologists is to not even consider context when examining the pairedness of accomplishment verbs in Russian. For example, the isolated infinitive "pisat'" is seen as paired with "napisat'" based on the context in which this verb most typically appears (an accomplishment context: "pisat'"$_1$). That there are also "versions" of this verb which occur in activity contexts is simply not taken into consideration. What must be realized is that the aspectual pairedness of the verb "pisat'" has to be reconsidered for each different context

in which it appears. Thus, if we attempt to use the accomplishment-based perfective ("pisat'"$_1$ > "napisat'") in the activity context "Vchera on pisal ves' vecher", we end up with a totally unacceptable sentence: *Vchera on napisal ves' vecher. Rather, the following example shows that "pisat'" in an activity context must be perfectivized via the prefix "po-": "Vchera vecherom on popisal i potom poshel v kino".

Thus, a marriage of the Western view that context determines verb classification and the Soviet view that verb classification determines aspectual pairedness necessarily leads us to conclude that aspectual (non)pairedness is, in fact, partially determined by context. This fact, together with a definition of aspect which takes into consideration <u>all</u> occurrences of aspect in Russian, serves to drastically cut the number of traditionally uniaspectual verbs in Russian, leaving only "pure" statives and a small number of achievements as uniaspectually imperfective and perfective respectively.

While there is a definite connection between verb type and aspectual pairedness in Russian, the semantically non-primitive nature of the distinctions state-activity--accomplishment-achievement also has a significant bearing on the way in which we approach the problem of (non)pairedness. That the divisions between classes are not absolute is shown not only by the wholesale changes in

classificaton caused by viewing a verb in different contexts, but also by the fact that there exist certain verbs which, even in their most typical contexts, appear to straddle the line between two different classes, exhibiting features of both. Just as each verb has its prototypical semantic-aspectual meaning which may be altered when it occurs in non-prototypical contexts, so does each semantic-aspectual category of verbs have its most prototypical members around which less protypical ones cluster to form a class. The least prototypical members begin to border on the edge between categories. We have seen examples of this in Russian where certain statives (the so-called stactives) seem to have an activity component. In English, much controversy surrounds the issue of achievements which seem to behave like activities or accomplishments (e.g., "He is winning the race", "The lightning is flashing").

That these verb types are drawn to our attention in the first place is accounted for by the fact that they, unlike the more prototypical members of their semantic classes, occur in the aspect with which they would seem to be higly incompatible, rendering a meaning which is very abstract, having little to do with the any of the objective semantic properties of the verbs in question. Stactives, for example, like the highly prototypical "pure" statives, occur most naturally in the imperfective, since this aspect is best able to code their inherent

semantic properties. What distinguishes stactives from pure statives, however, is that they seem to have an activity element, and also that they may be used in the perfective aspect. However, while it seems that this activity element somehow allows these verbs to be perfectivized, the use of the perfective has nothing to do with the coding of this activity component.

Let us now develop an approach to aspectual pairedness whereby we take into consideration:

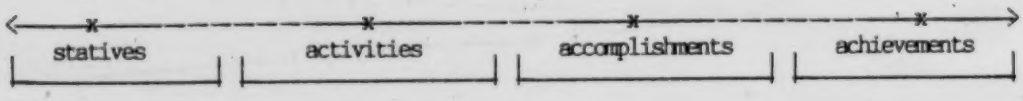
a. the fact that, while there are definite semantic categories, there are degrees of prototypicality within each category, as well as a certain overlap in features between categories.

b. aspect historically began as an opposition limited to one semantic verb class (resultatives), at which point the meaning of the aspectual opposition to a large degree reflected actual properties of the class in question, though allowing the speaker to at least focus on different elements inherent in the verb's meaning. With resulatitives, the choice was one of seeing the action as proceeding towards its goal (Imperfect) or as having reached this goal (Aorist). As the opposition spread to new verb types, its meaning in each particular case changed. As well, the general meaning evolved into something more abstract in the process.

c. the synchronic facts show that, as we move farther away

from the core of the aspectual opposition, i.e., resultatives (which are Vendler's accomplishments), the meaning of the opposition becomes more abstract.

Given a series of aspectual "coding points" (see Givon 1984, pp. 35-41) of the type below,



the extension of the aspectual opposition diachronically takes place in the following manner. To the right of accomplishments (historical resultatives), there is a rising scale of telicity until we get to "pure" change of state verbs at the extreme right. To the left of accomplishment verbs, there is a scale of increasing atelicity until we get "pure" statives on the extreme left.

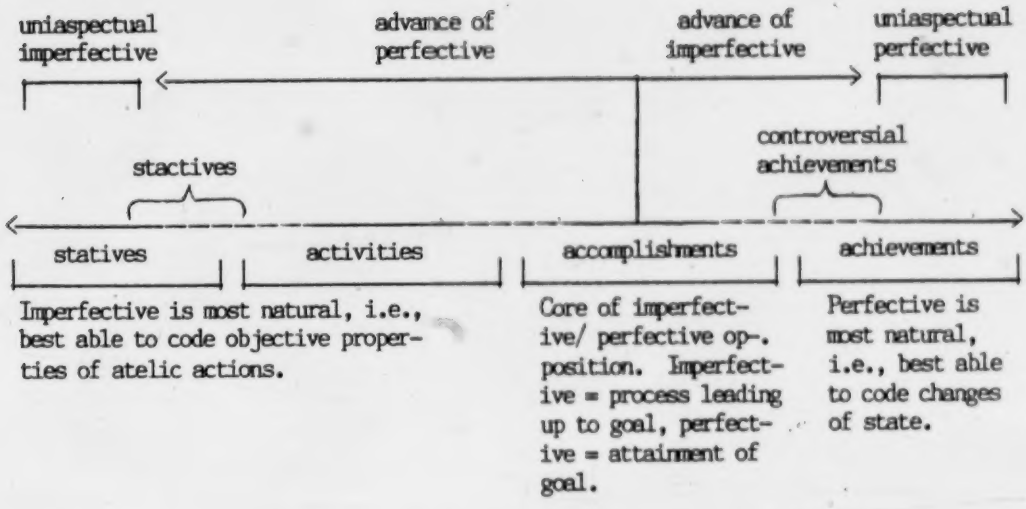
The telic side of accomplishments occurs most naturally in the perfective, and thus, as the imperfective spreads into this semantic territory, the meaning that evolves in combination with increasingly pure changes of state cannot be "process" anymore, but conativeness, praesens propheticum, and finally iterativity, moving from left to extreme right respectively. The advance of the imperfective has halted somewhere short of certain "pure" change of state verbs, and here is where we see evidence of a fundamental division within achievements: those which

allow the imperfective, and those which do not. When one then considers all the meanings of the imperfective starting with its prototypical "process towards a goal" and going all the way to "iterative change of state", the overall "common denominator" meaning of the imperfective will be abstract indeed.

The atelic side of accomplishments occurs most naturally in the imperfective, and thus, as the perfective spreads into this semantic territory, the meaning it acquires in combination with increasingly pure statives/atelics can no longer be an action having reached its goal, but an action with certain artificial temporal limits set on it (quantitative perfectivization). The advance of the perfective passed through activities and into statives, but having "petered out" somewhere within this general class, it is here that we see evidence of a fundamental division within statives between those which allow the perfective, and those which do not. When we take into account all the meanings of the perfective starting with its prototypical "attainment of inherent goal" and going all the way up to "action seen as a whole via artificial boundaries", the overall meaning of the perfective can again be seen to have become increasingly abstract.

The gradual extension of the perfective and imperfective aspects leading up to the present state of the aspectual system can be represented in the following

manner:



Two questions, however, remain to be answered. First, what is it about the pure statives and achievements which makes them resist further expansion of the perfective and imperfective into their semantic territories? Second, why is it that certain statives and achievements do form aspectual pairs? While we have dealt somewhat with Thelin's suggestions concerning the nature of stactives, these questions must be left for future research. In any event, while we would see "accomplishments" as the basis for the original prototypical opposition of the perfective and imperfective, it is obvious from our work here that aspectual pairedness of verbs in Russian has extended today well beyond this verb type, now excluding only the extremes of the "telicity spectrum".

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